1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

After recounting the myth of the cow and calf, he added, 'And to this day the Dinka has always lived by robbery, and the Nuer by war.'[1]

Fighting, like cattle husbandry, is one of the chief activities and dominant interests of all Nuer men, and raiding Dinka for cattle is one of their principal pastimes. Indeed *jaang*, Dinka, is sometimes used to refer to any tribe whom the Nuer habitually raid and from whom they take captives. Boys look forward to the day when they will be able to accompany their elders on these raids against the Dinka, and as soon as youths have been initiated into manhood they begin to plan an attack to enrich themselves and to establish their reputation as warriors. Every Nuer tribe raided Dinka at least every two or three years, and some part of Dinkaland must have been raided annually. Nuer have a proper contempt for Dinka and are derisive of their fighting qualities, saying that they show as little skill as courage. *Kur jaang*, fighting with Dinka, is considered so trifling a test of valour that it is not thought necessary to bear shields on a raid or to pay any regard to adverse odds, and is contrasted with the dangers of *kur Nath*, fighting between Nuer themselves. These boasts are justified both in the unflinching bravery of the Nuer and by their military success.

The earliest travellers record that Nuer held both banks of the Nile, but it is probable that the entire Zeraf Island was at one time occupied by Dinka and it is certain that the whole of the country from the Zeraf to the Pibor and, to the north of the Sobat, from the confines of Shillukland to the Ethiopian scarp was, with the exception of riverain settlements of Anuak, still in their hands as late as the middle of last century, when it was seized by the Nuer in two lines of expansion, to the north of the Sobat and to the south of it. This is known from the statements of both Nuer and Dinka, the evidence of genealogies and age-sets, and the records of travellers, who frequently refer to the struggle between the two peoples, the dominant position of the Nuer among their neighbours, the awe they inspired in them, and their bravery and chivalry.[2] The conquest, which seems to have resulted in absorp-

[1] *Sudan Intelligence Report*, no. 152, 1907.

[2] Werne, op. cit., p. 163; Abd-el-Hamid, op. cit., pp. 82–3; Philippe Terrenuova D'Antonio, 'Relation d'un voyage au Fleuve Blanc', *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, Paris, 1859. Lejean, op. cit., p. 232; Poncet, op. cit., pp. 18, 26, 39, 41–2, and 44; Petherick, op. cit., vol. ii, p. 6; Heuglin, *Reise in das Gebiet*

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

tion and miscegenation rather than extermination, was so rapid and successful that the whole of this vast area is to-day occupied by Nuer, except for a few pockets of Dinka on the Sobat, Filus, and Atar. Apart from these independent units there are many local communities in Eastern Nuerland of Nuer who acknowledge that they are of Dinka descent, and small lineages of Dinka origin are found in every village and camp. Some Dinka tribes took *refuge* with compatriots to the south, where the Gaawar and Lou continued to raid them. The Western Nuer likewise persistently raided all the Dinka tribes that border them, particularly those to the south and west, obtained a moral ascendency over them, and compelled them to withdraw farther and farther from their boundaries. To the west of the Nile, as to the east, Dinka captives were assimilated, and there are many small lineages of Dinka descent in every tribe and these are often preponderant in local communities. Of all the Dinka only the Ngok, to the south of the Sobat, were left in peace, probably on account of their poverty of stock and grazing, though their immunity has a mythological sanction. It seems also that the Atwot were not considered such legitimate prey as the Dinka on account of their Nuer origin, and it is probable that they were seldom molested as they are remotely situated.

The favourite season for raiding Dinka was at the end of the rains, though they were also invaded at their commencement. Leek tribesmen told me that when they raided Dinka to the south-west they used to sleep the first night near the villages of the Wot tribe and the second night in the bush. They took no food with them and ate only what fish they might hastily spear on the way, travelling with all speed throughout the day and part of the night. On the third day they attacked the Dinka villages or camps at dawn. The Dinka seldom put up any resistance, but loosened their cattle and tried to drive them away. No one seized cattle till the enemy had been dispersed. Then each took what prizes he could, often not troubling to tether his captures but slashing their rumps in sign of ownership. Afterwards the beasts were tied up

des Weissen Nil und seiner westlichen Zuflüsse in den Jahren 1862–1864, 1869, p. 104. Georg Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa* (English translation), 1873, vol. i, pp. 118–19; Gaetano Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria and the Return with Emin Pasha* (English translation), 1891, vol. i, p. 39; Romolo Gessi Pasha, *Seven Years in the Soudan* (English translation), 1892, p. 57. The maps intended by travellers to show the positions of the peoples of this area are rather vague and are not in entire agreement. The reader may consult those in Marno, op. cit., Poncet, op. cit., Heuglin, op. cit., the map compiled by Lejean from information supplied by the Poncet brothers in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* (Paris), 1860; the maps prepared by V. A. Malte-Brun in *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, 1855 and 1863, and others of this period.

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

721 in the enemy's kraal, the oxen being mainly slaughtered for food. If the Dinka gathered reinforcements and returned to fight they were met in full battle formation. Nuer fight in three divisions with two or three hundred yards between each, and if one division is engaged the others advance or retreat parallel to it according to the fortunes of war. A party of scouts are in advance of the central division and they charge up to the enemy, hurl their spears at them, and fall back on the main body.

The raiders spent several weeks in Dinkaland and sometimes remained there throughout the dry season, living on the milk and flesh of captured cattle, on pillaged grain, and on fish. Using a captured kraal as a base they extended their raid against distant camps. Nuer migrations seem to have been conducted on these lines, the raiders settling permanently in Dinka country and by systematic raiding compelling the inhabitants to withdraw farther and farther from the points of occupation. In the following season a new series of raids was initiated and the process was repeated till the Dinka were compelled to seek refuge with their kinsfolk of another tribe and leave their country to its invaders. If settlement was not contemplated, however, the raiders returned home when they considered that they had sufficient booty.

721 167

•727 Before camp was broken up there took place a custom highly indicative of Nuer sense of equality and justice. It was recognized that the whole force was jointly responsible for the success of the raid and there was therefore a redistribution of the booty. The [192] prophet whose revelations sanctioned the raid first made a round of the camp and selected from each household a cow for the divine spirit of whom he was the mouthpiece. By this time a household possessed some fifty head, so that it was no hardship to be asked to give one to the spirit. There then took place a general scramble and everybody rushed amid the herd to earmark beasts for himself. A man who could first seize an animal, tether it, and cut its ear had absolute claim to it. The man who originally captured a cow had the advantage that it was tethered near his windscreen, but if he and members of his household had an undue share of the booty they could not earmark all the beasts before they were seized by others. As might be supposed, men frequently sustained injury in these scrambles, for if two men seized the same cow they fought with clubs for possession of it. One must not use the spear on these occasions. Men of neighbouring camps took part in one another's redistributions and there must have been great confusion. Captives, women of marriageable age, boys, and girls, were not redistributed but belonged to their original captor. Older women and babies were clubbed and, when the raid was on a village, their

1: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1940
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

bodies were thrown on the flaming byres and huts. Captives were placed in the centre of the camp, the women being sometimes bound at night to render them more secure. Sexual intercourse is taboo on a raid. Nor may Nuer eat with a captive. A boy captive may not even draw water for them to drink. Only when

Tribal Distribution about 1860 (after V. A. Malte-Brun, *Nouvelles annales des voyages*, 1863).

an ox has been sacrificed in honour of the ghosts, after the return home, and they have been informed that strangers have entered their homesteads, may Nuer have sexual relations with captives or eat with them.

In the following section we describe other foreign contacts, but till European conquest the only foreign relations which may be said to have been expressed in constant warfare were those with the various Dinka tribes which border Nuerland.

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

MARRIAGE PROHIBITIONS AND INCEST

582 The adoption of a Dinka boy into a Nuer minimal lineage pre-
727 vents him from marrying into that lineage and he would normally
563 not be allowed to marry into a collateral minimal lineage of the same minor lineage, though such marriages sometimes take place, as is evident in the genealogy of Yakwac cattle camp opposite page 19. Some of my informants were of the opinion that he ought not to marry into the clan at all. If he is permitted to do so, to avoid the appearance of a breach of exogamy, the spear-name *mut jangemo*, spear of this Dinka, is called out in the invocation of the ghosts on the day of his wedding in addition to the clan spear-name which became his by adoption. By this means the spear-names of the bride and bridegroom, which are the same, are distinguished. Also when, as it sometimes happens, a captured Dinka boy is not adopted into his captor's lineage, men of this lineage cannot marry his daughter because some of the cattle of her bridewealth are due to them, since the Dinka will have married with their cattle. The sons of the captor count as paternal uncles in the distribution of her bridewealth, and other members of the lineage may demand gifts from the bridegroom's people.

Captured Dinka girls are not adopted into Nuer lineages and their captors can marry them, though they rarely do so. If the captor of a girl intends to marry her or to let one of his sons marry her he passes a spear-shaft between her legs, and then hands her over to another man to bring up outside his village, 'because if she were to remain in his homestead she would become his daughter'. Generally a captured girl is brought up a member of her captor's household and is regarded as his daughter. He rubs ashes on the back of a sheep and tells his ancestral ghosts that the girl is 'our daughter and our sister'. Nuer say: 'Thus she is taken into the family (*gol*) and becomes a member of the family.' They also say: 'She will become our daughter and we will receive her bridewealth-cattle.' The cattle of her bridewealth give her kinship with the persons among whom it is distributed, as does also her right to receive in return the cows of the paternal aunt on the marriage of the daughters of the sons of her captor and foster-father. Marriage is therefore forbidden between her descendants and the descendants of these kinsmen in virtue of bridewealth for several generations. She herself can be married to a clansman of her foster-father so long as her husband does not belong to his minimal lineage, which is to say so long as those who pay her bridewealth cannot also

2:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1951
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

claim part of it, for those who can claim part of a girl's bride-wealth are kin to her. Nuer state these rules in terms of cattle.

A man may not take his wife's sister or any near kinswoman of his wife as a second wife. A man may be on familiar terms with his wife's sister, but sexual relations with her are incestuous and it is only permissible for him to marry her if his wife has died without having borne children. When I argued that there was no kinship between a man and his wife's sister, Nuer said that this was not true. 'What about the child?' they asked. They regard a man and his wife's sister as related through the child of the wife—for a woman is only fully married when she has a child and comes to live with her husband's people as their 'kinswoman', as they say, since her child is their child. Her sister is therefore also a kind of kinswoman, seeing that she is also the mother of their child. Your wife's sister being your child's maternal aunt is your sister (as we say, sister-in-law). Nuer also define this relationship in terms of cattle. When your daughter is married her mother's sister receives a cow of her bridewealth, and Nuer hold that she cannot both receive this cow and be your wife at the same time, especially as the cow is in some degree regarded as part of the bridewealth still owing from your marriage to your wife. Also, when your wife's sister's daughter marries, your wife will receive a cow and Nuer feel that there is something wrong about this cow coming to her if her sister is also her co-wife. In certain circumstances a woman may claim cattle on her sister's marriage, and in this case the man who pays the cattle would also be the receiver of them were a man to marry his wife's sister—a situation the Nuer regard as impossible. Hence Nuer say that a man may not marry his wife's sister either 'on account of her (the wife's) children' or 'on account of the cattle', which are different ways of saying that he cannot marry his child's maternal aunt. There is a further reason which would prevent a man from marrying his wife's sister while his wife is living, for, as will be explained later, a man may not have sexual relations with two closely related women at the same time. It follows that two brothers ought not to marry sisters or close cousins: 'That would be bad because if your brother died you could not take his wife.'

A man may not marry the daughter of an age-mate, a member of his age-set, 'because she is his daughter'. The blood age-mates have shed together into the ground at their initiation gives them a

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

brother, Gwanbul ♂—Jany ♂, who was killed in war. She has borne Loc ♂ a son, Col ♂. Jor ♂—Jany ♂ shares this byre. 592 588

Homestead No. XV. Nyading ♀—Thiep ♂. She died last year but as her hut is still standing she is included in this list. She was a wife of Jany married to him after his death by his son Gwanbul ♂ to whom she bore a son, Jor ♂, and three daughters. On the death of Gwanbul she cohabited with Mokwac of Homestead No. XVI but has not borne him children.

Homestead No. XVI. Mokwac ♂—Nen ♂. He shares this hut with Yuol ♀, widow of Diou ♂—Nhial ♂, an aristocrat of the Dieny section. She had three children by Diou, two being dead and one, Nyaroah ♀ being alive. By Mokwac she had a son, Thor ♂, who died, a daughter, Nyatiacni ♀, and a newly born daughter. Mokwac also cohabits with Nyadang ♀, of Homestead No. XXI. She has not borne him children but "cooks for him". Before her death Mokwac used to cohabit with Nyading of Homestead No. IV. He has no wife of his own.

Homestead No. XVII. Nyathagh ♀—Lagh ♂. A Dinka captive who was married to Dong ♂—Col ♂, a Jikul man. She bore him a daughter who died, and a son, Patai ♂. When her husband died he had no brother to cohabit with her and, being a Dinka captive, she had no kinsmen with whom she could reside, so she became concubine to Cel ♂—Thiep ♂, a leopard skin chief of the Keunyang section. She bore him Nyathat ♀, Nyaling ♀, Nyangiek ♀, Kur ♂, and Nyaduot ♀ (dead). On Cel's death she remained in his homestead, her present abode, and took a lover, Riek ♂—Juc ♂, of the Reng section of the Jikany tribe. She bore him no children and relations between them ceased. At present she has no lover. 592 727

Homestead No. XVIII. Nyadut ♀—Tweth ♂ (sister to Nhial ♂ of Homestead No. XXIII). She is a widow of Cuc ♂—Thol ♂ of the Riaagh clan. There were no children of this marriage and on her husband's death she lived in leviritic concubinage with Duob ♂—Cuc ♂, one of her husband's sons to whom she bore Leau ♂, Nyayoac ♀, Wany ♂, and another son. Duob ♂ was killed by Mokwac of Homestead No. XVI (compensation was paid but although Mokwac ♂ and Leau ♂—Doub ♂ live side by side they do not eat or drink together). For a while Nyadut ♀ then cohabited with Marial ♂—Kwong ♂ of the Gai section of the Jikany tribe. She bore him a child which died. Its death convinced them that they ought not to have had relations because Nyadut was *cek gwandong*, "grandfather's wife", to Marial. She now cohabits with Baranyai ♂ of Homestead No. III. She has borne him a daughter. Nyadut's byre has fallen down. People say that it will be rebuilt next year. 592

Homestead No. XIX. Yang ♂—Tien ♂ (brother of Juan of Homestead No. VII. when I asked why the brothers do not live together I was told *Juan nwon me ca bec doreme, ee Yang ee bec doreme*, "Juan has a site which suits him down here, and Yang has a site which suits him up there".) Yang married Nyabeel ♀—Dec ♂ but she died, with her baby, in childbirth as a consequence of incest. She had incestuous relations both with a kinsman of her husband and with a kinsman of her own. (As she brought death on herself Yang ♂ did not have to compensate her kinsmen for her death.) 592 684 835

11:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1945
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

section, whom he has recently wed. She still lives with her parents and has not yet brought the infant daughter she bore Nhial to his home. At one time Nhial cohabited with Nyadang of Homestead No. XXI. The byre in his homestead has fallen down and will soon be rebuilt. 592 595

Homestead No. XXIV. Nyadhiac ♀—Wal ♂, a widow of Galuak ♂—Thol ♂. She bore her husband Tap ♂ who lives in the homestead of Dhoal ♂ of Homestead No. XX. Dhoal ♂ now cohabits with her and she has borne him Gai ♂, Puot ♂, Nyagwar ♀, Laoth ♂, Nyakwoli ♀, and a female infant. This cohabitation would be regarded by Nuer as leviritic concubinage because Galuak ♂ and Cuc ♂, the father of Dhoal ♂, were both sons of Thol. 592 587

Nyadhiac's mother, Nyaleeni ♀, a very old Baggara Arab captive, lives with her. [227]

Homestead No. XXV. Kwol ♂—Kwoth ♂ (Kwoth ♂, Galuak ♂, and Cuc ♂ were brothers). Kwol is unmarried. His mother, Nyamani ♀—Kulangs ♂, a Bor woman, and his brothers, Buth ♂ and Duoth ♂, and his sister, Nyaliah ♀, live in the same homestead. He shares his cattle-byre with Nhial ♂, of Homestead No. XXIII, and two sons of Dit ♂, Rwot ♂ and Wecjok ♂ (Homestead No, XXVI). 592

Homestead No. XXVI. Nyaluak ♀—Yosh ♂, widow of Dit ♂—Bicuk ♂, to whom she bore Rwot ♂, Yangdoah ♀, Nyakur ♀, Nyampath ♀, and Wecjok ♂. After her husband's death she cohabited with Carou ♂—Gwec ♂ of Nyang village to whom she bore Nyibol ♀, Ging ♀, and Nyaduoth ♀. She is now past child-bearing. She is a noted diviner and magician. The byre of this homestead fell down last year. 592 588

The information collected about matrimonial conditions at Nyueny is not full enough to allow a very fine classification but a crude analysis in the form of a summary may be presented. There are thirty three women in the village who have either been married or have borne children. The number includes only women living in the village as their normal residence and not such women as Nyaudol ♀—Kwenwar ♂ even though she has declared her intention of settling there; nor the wife of Nhial ♂—Rainen ♂ because she has gone back to her own people and he is almost certain to divorce her; nor the unmarried woman who was living as Nhial's concubine because she was a bird of passage. I have not counted women, recently married by men of Nyueny, who are still living in the homes of their parents. These thirty-three women are living in the domestic conditions shown in the first column. 583

The second column presents an analysis of all the different types of union to which the thirty-three women are known, at one time or another, to have been partners. The second column does not pretend to the accuracy of the first for I did not attempt to record the complete domestic history of each woman, though much information about them was collected in the course of a general enquiry. It is hoped, nevertheless, that the second column will be of service in correcting any distortion in the first, for, except for unmarried concubines who have not been married and afterwards divorced, all the women have at one time lived in the union of one or other form of marriage. I have not attempted to estimate the number

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

establish himself and his near kin as the social leaders of the locality in which they live. Also I believe that the common view expressed by Europeans that the Nuer leopard-chiefs were once powerful political chiefs whose power has lately been undermined by Arab influence and the development of lines of influential prophets and that their power must be re-established is based on a one-sided appreciation of the facts (*see* section No. VII).

We have seen that two elements in a Nuer village are the *diel wec* and the *rul wec*. The third element in a Nuer village is the Dinka *jaang wec* and this falls into two types, captured Dinka and Dinka who have come to live among the Nuer of their own free will. Boys and girls captured in war—for adults are usually put to the spear, only very small boys and unmarried maidens being carried off to Nuerland—are brought up as children of their captor's household and treated as his own sons and daughters. Two of my informants, Jok and Tutrial, gave me a very clear summary of the position of a captured Dinka. Their captor in no way distinguishes them and his own sons and daughters, and neither he nor any of his family would refer to them as *Jaang* (Dinka), which is a term of deep contempt and insult. They do precisely no more and no less work than any other member of the household and are in no manner degraded or humiliated. In answer to my questions whether a captured Dinka would not be expected to do more hoeing or tending of the cattle than children of the family, my informant's reply was decisively clear "You ask me whether he would not work harder than the sons, well, is he not a son?"

When I asked Tutrial whether you would not address your captive as "Jaang," he replied with some impatience at my denseness "Are you likely to do such a thing? Now listen, be quiet and I will tell you. When you marry a woman with cattle and sleep in the same hut with her does anyone come and ask you why you sleep so late in the day? Now when you go out to capture a Dinka your foot is pierced by thorns—you have got to be stalwart for that; you are ravished by hunger—you have got to be stalwart for that; you have spears thrown at you—you have got to be stalwart for that too; now I ask you when you have got your Dinka are you likely to call him a *Jaang*? Did you not win him because you were strong?"

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

Were a man of another village or of a different kin to call him by the title of *Jaang* it would be a serious matter because the sons of the man who had captured him would resent the remark. To them he is *demar*, my brother, and they will quarrel with anyone who calls him *Jaang* and there may be bloodshed. They will ask "Who is a Jaang? Did your father seize him or did ours?"

Just as a captured Dinka suffers from few disabilities owing to his birth so he enjoys most of the privileges of a free-born Nuer. The man who has adopted him will give him cattle with which to marry a wife, and he will be thus enabled to marry according to the same rules of priority as if he were a real son. If he is older than a real son of the family he will marry before him. A and B are real sons of X, and C is an adopted Dinka whose age comes in between the ages of A and B. The order of marriage will be A, C, B. When A and B's daughters are married, C, the Dinka, will receive the cattle of a *gwanlen* (paternal uncle) just as if he were an ordinary brother to A and B.

Dinka who have been taken in war and brought up by a Nuer family will eventually be formally adopted and given *buth* (*ca lath buthni*, he is given relationship). One youth, Wan, told me that the man who brought up a captured Dinka would give him *buth* (relationship), but two other informants, Tutrial and Jok, disputed this statement, saying "He will not do so because the Dinka is his son, so why should he?" The son of this man, or more likely his brother's son (*gat gwanlen*) will, however, invite his Dinka boy, when grown-up and initiated into manhood, to come and tether a bullock in his kraal and kill it. The bullock is first of all invoked by the owner of the kraal and he addresses the spirits of his clan and tells them that this man is now a member of his family. This ceremony is regarded as being very much the affair of the spirits who guard your clan and your own special lineage. It is your duty to let them know if you are adopting a new member into your kin because all members of your kin are under their care. Another informant said that the bullock is killed at the entrance to the sponsor's byre and that the Dinka's body is smeared with the undigested contents of its stomach while the spirits of the clan are asked to accept him into it. After this ceremony the Dinka becomes a member of your lineage, he becomes a relation of yours (*gwan buthni ka ji*) and the spirits of your lineage will go to him and be his spirits also. After the bullock has been invoked it

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

563 597 727 [43] is sacrificed and cut up and the son of the house and his Dinka "brother" each take half the skin and the *juak*, and the Dinka takes the neck. On all future occasions when animals are killed by his relative by adoption he will be able to claim his share of the meat on the grounds of relationship (*see* Section No. VI). It seems that, whilst before this ceremony of being given relationship he was treated in all respects as a member of the family, he did not count as a member of the lineage, at any rate for purposes of division of meat, which goes only to relatives of the owner. He will now regard himself as a "member of the clan" of his "father." *Caa Juak tem*, they have cut through the scrotum, he is now a member of their clan.

563 597 727 641 We may, at any rate for the moment, speak of these captured Dinka who go through a ceremony of adoption into the lineage of their captor as becoming affiliated to Nuer clans in the framework of which they trace their descent and for which they receive the various ritual emblems which mark a clansman. It is almost impossible, without a prolonged stay in a Nuer cattle-camp, to discover who are and who are not of pure Nuer origin. I have for weeks considered a man to be of pure descent, that is to say by direct filiation of blood, when in reality he comes from the stock of a captured Dinka. Such a man who had a Dinka grandfather who was adopted into a Nuer lineage regards himself as being just as much a member of the lineage as the grandson of the man who gave his grandfather *buth* and is so regarded by other members of his lineage and by everybody else. Thus when a man gives you his genealogy as A, son of B, son of C, son of D, son of E, and another man gives you his genealogy as X, son of Y, son of Z, son of Q, son of E, you naturally imagine that D and Q were two sons of E and that they have founded separate lines of descent, one of which has produced A and the other of which has produced X. There is no means of knowing that in point of fact Q was a Dinka captured by E and given *buth* by his son D unless someone tells you the true state of affairs as a piece of information which he thinks will be of interest to you, a most unlikely happening in Nuerland. Moreover, you cannot very well go about asking people whether their grandfathers were captured Dinka and if you did they would be very unlikely to tell you. You can, of course, always ask other people but the only people who are likely to be fully acquainted with a man's ancestry are members of the same lineage and they in all probability will not tell you. The consequences of wholesale adoption of Dinka into

12:Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1930-1931) 1933
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

Nuer lineages belongs more to a study of kinship than to the plan of the present paper. Its importance may be gauged by the fact that probably some 75 per cent. of the Lou tribe are of Dinka descent, belonging either to families sprung from a man who has been *lath buthni*, given relationship, in a Nuer lineage, or to the families which have retained their full status as independent Dinka lineages.

This is the second type of Dinka domiciled among the Nuer to whom I made reference earlier. In the old days, and still to-day, Dinka frequently came to live among Nuer of their own accord and were always well received and allowed to settle and become members of the village community. There are a number of reasons which may have influenced a Dinka in taking this step. Along the Nuer-Dinka border intermarriage was frequent and Dinka would come to live near their married sisters and perhaps settle there and bring up a family who are Nuer in everything but descent. In the same way if a Nuer captured a Dinka girl and brought her up and gave her in marriage he might expect a visit from her brother, who would perhaps settle in his sister's village, in which case his brother-in-law would certainly give him one or two cows to start a herd. Many Dinka families came into Lou country to escape hunger and the other attendant miseries to which they had been reduced by constant Nuer raiding which left them cattleless.[1] Moreover there must have been a very large element of the original Dinka owners of country to the east of the Nile absorbed into the social system of their Nuer conquerors. They cannot all have been dispersed, and the probability is that what happened during the Nuer invasions was similar to what was happening along the Nuer-Dinka border right up to the present day when raiding and intermarriage occupied long lulls between waves of fresh invasion.

[1] I was told that it sometimes happened that a poor Dinka would come and live with a rich Nuer and would help to herd his cattle and cultivate his gardens so that the Nuer, being gratified, would give him a blind or lame daughter whom no one wanted to marry. This is apparently considered a proper marriage, since the Dinka presents his wife with a skirt (*yet*). My informants said that, of course, no one would give a nice girl to a Dinka in this way.

(To be continued.)

16: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1956
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

CHAPTER XII

PRIESTS AND PROPHETS

I

It has been noted that women do not make sacrifice and that though any man can make it only senior men who are fathers of families, 'bulls' as the Nuer call them, do so. Personal sacrifices are usually, as in most cases of sickness, performed by the head of the family or some senior kinsman and neighbour, but sacrifices which have more than domestic import and are thought of as involving a whole lineage or clan—collective sacrifices—have to be performed by a person called *gwan buthni*, whom I have spoken of as the master of ceremonies.

The verb *buth* means 'to share', and since collateral lineages of a clan and also clans with common ancestry may claim portions of the flesh of sacrificial victims at each other's collective sacrifices, there is said to be *buth* between them. They are to one another *jibuthni*, people who share. The word is also used when speaking of the adoption of a captured Dinka into his captor's lineage. He is said to be *lath buthni*, given shares. A sacrifice is made and in the invocation at it the guardian spirit of the lineage is asked to receive the Dinka into its care and the ghosts of the ancestors are informed of what is being done. The Dinka is smeared with the victim's chyme. He now counts as a member of his captor's lineage and has a right to partake of the meats of its sacrifices and also to claim a portion of the meat at sacrifices by any other lineage to which this lineage stands in a *buth* relationship. *Buth* has consequently the further meaning of agnation. *Jibuthni* are agnates. *Lath buthni* is to be given agnation. Agnates are people who share in the flesh of sacrifices.

Buth relationship is stated also in terms of the division of elephant tusks or of cattle exchanged for them. When hunters kill an elephant the right tusk goes to the *koc*, the man who first speared it, and the left tusk to the *gam*, the man who speared it next. The tusks are cut into portions to be used as armlets—one of the most precious of Nuer possessions—or are exchanged for

16: Evans-Pritchard E-5 (1931, 1936) 1956
FJ22 Nuer FJ22

ning in ordinary sacrifices at which he officiates; and Nuer often refer to him in his sacrificial role as 'the cutter of the scrotum'. Does this usage symbolize the principle of agnation? Possibly, for after the sacrifice by which a Dinka is adopted into his captor's lineage it is said '*ca juak tem*', 'the scrotum has been cut', to signify that the Dinka is now a member of the lineage. If we are right in thinking that it may have this meaning, then the cutting of the scrotum is a most appropriate symbolic act, for the *gwan buthni* represents, as a member of a collateral lineage, the unity of the clan as a corporation of segments, the principle of fission which is in the very nature of a lineage structure. The master of ceremonies receives some of the sacrificial meat at sacrifices at which he officiates and he generally has a right also to the hide or half of it. He has also a right, as I have explained, to a section of any elephant tusk that comes into possession of the family he serves, and the first turtles and the skins of the first leopards and serval cats killed by its sons are given to him. He receives a calf or sheep from the husband's people when one of its daughters is married.

The role of the *gwan buthni* in sacrifice is seen to be a social role rather than one of a specifically religious kind. He does not function in virtue of any qualities in himself. He is a *dwek*, a layman, not a *kuaar*, a priest. He is called upon to make the first invocation when the sacrifice concerns the interest of a whole clan or lineage. His clan or lineage alone is involved or if, as in marriage, another clan is also involved he acts on behalf of his own group alone; and consequently he addresses Spirit in the refraction by which it is represented to the clan—maybe in a totemic refraction or just as '*kwoth gwara*', 'God of our fathers'. His role in the proceedings is, therefore, determined primarily by the nature of the social activities in connexion with which he is asked to make sacrifice and not by any specifically religious considerations.

II

When sacrifice is made in consequence of some sin or to end certain states of interdiction, of sin-potential—in circumstances, that is, which involve the notion of *nueer* or of notions akin to it—it is desirable, and sometimes necessary, for the rite to be performed by a *kuaar twac* or *kuaar muon*, a priest of the leopard-skin